power of this government into the hands of one man personant into the hands of one man is provided to the power of this government into the hands of one man is most favorable aspect. It is antipower is educate into the ene who gets on the other side of the power of the government of this power is educate in monarchical, corrupt, and yet we are asked to put the legislative power of the government of this to put the legislative power of the government of this to put the legislative power of the government of this to put the legislative power of the government of this the ene who gets on the other side of the lower valley goes to Baltimore, and not a barrel or bush-line must be dragged over or knocked over. From such line must be dragged over or knocked over or knock very properly said in this debate that he was sorry gentheneu had talked of temptation, or said any which might be considered as temptation, or that any plinsion had been made to the favor with which the west would rega d eastern men, who would serve western interests, when there is an admitted western interest to serve, and an admitted majority agains it. He properly said it was not politic or in good taste. Thank God I am not entitled to any such commendation. I agree with him that it was not in the best taste to induce the subject here; and et there was one form of the temptration, which, I confess, would touch me it nay could. It was, I hope, but the impulse of kind tecting and of a generous and noble nature. The gen tisman from Kasawha iaid his han i upon his heart, and said the western nen would war their eastern friends there; with its last throb they would be recollected S.r. it was the most tempting allurement which could be offered. Sir. it is a powerful temptation I a buil. Well calculated to swerve a man unconscious ly-any possibly transcrussly-from his duty, to be told by one deemed worthy of regard, that the reward for service or concession shall be a noble, smient, undy-ing affection. That in the last moment of lingering life grateful regard will cling more closely to you, and re I ase its hold only to emorace death. But, unfortunately for the world--or it may be fortunately-that is not the kind of temptation in political affairs which is often held out, or most apt to be effectual. There are other temptations far more dangerous, and with politicisus more seductive and effective. And if it were not so, still the thing must be debauched ere it is used. I have heard it said out of doors, where western gentlemen were present-though they did not always approve the sentiment-that the man who votes against the white basito-lay is forever doomed in the west, and can never hope from all Virginia again; while on the Lind the man who votes for it is made. Well, we De to live you of the west the power to make the

governor is to be elected by a majority of the at the polls, which, if you please, will be equivaan election by western Virginia. And it may other elections may be controlled by you. The and attent then of this threat is, that no man ever governor of Virginia, or hold any other office at on western Virginia, who does not now vote west, and of the promise that the eastern man or goes with the west against the east, shall be of Virginia, or something else. If the west get the power, he may be made a senator of the States, when the time arrives for that election an not worthy to be governor or senator. I a-piro neither, is r to any office under the sun. If I had the met. I have not the ambition, or the hope, andth o threat and the promise pass equal y over me. But if I had I could not he situte between such a prize, if within my reach and the safety of my country. And I maintain Mr. Chairman, that if you put your government into the hands into which this compromise would place it, and you would have these temptations and every other temptation that power could throw in the path of one who is capable of corruption, then, when the partiestan! arrayel front to front eye to eye, foot to foot half against half, in the language of Mr. Leigh, like the Greek against the Trojan contending for power, just as the trum set is about to sound the charge, and every true heart quickens for the conflict, you will see some crest lowere i, a sword sheathed, and an eastern traitor, with head bowed seeking refuge in the mountains of the west from the indignation and scorns of the betrayed east. Or vice versa, let the east be willing to resort to this course, and when these parties thus stand arrayed against each other in equal divisions, and all dependon one vote, it may happen that some fellow may seek the savanuabs of the east and take refuge in them, or on her broad waters, or in her sunny plains, from the in-dignation which would overwhelm him at home in thwest; and thus east or west will be betraved. That your government which is to cure all our ills. That i the republican government Virginia is asked to adopt That will be the government if his compromise the adopted, which will be given us by gentlemen who come

those great principles. I pray you for God's take not be upon to do it inflict no such curse upon my country. I upon will rote against your white basis; I will never yield sout valuable in an equal and free government, by your re gard for truth, honor, and justice, to put the govern-ment into the hands of the people, if you will not put it proper basis, having regard both to personenty, rather than put it into the hands of one to the hands of one who may be the weakest of the vilest of all—the mere tool, the ignorant tool of are cupping knave. Do not make a traitor or a maner your master, and hold up treason to be bought whenever men can be found rerdy to a Revollect that the man who betrave one side to-in will want but a chance and better price to be to miner to morrow. Many may be found to pay to mann, but none will be silly enough to trust But why did not the gentleman from Henrico (Mr.

Borrs) consult with the delegates of the east and hear what they had to say, and offer to them what he had to iny upon this agitating and disturbing question before he thew in his proposition here to embarrass the east, or embarrass the west, and to defeat the east if not to advance the west. Sir, is this the spirit of compromise to act without consultation? I verily believe that if this question could be submitted to the vote independent of and other, and solely upon its own merits, my colleague yole would be the only one that would be given for hi compromise. It would not on the first day it was introduced have received, nor will it when the question is taken, I venture to say receive any other votes except with a view to infuse it as a deadly drug or poison into some other proposition, and render it more distasteful to its friends; and yet this is the proposition which we were told was better, far better, very far better than any other. I have not discussed this question of ad ralorem taxation, ne shall I because I cannot see that it has aught to to with this compromise, applying as well as it does to the white basis or mixed basis or any other basis, and supported hat system of taxation with the gentleman's proposithen. The gentleman might as went terrine may be will not perform their duty, if mine will not move at the will not perform their duty, if mine will not move at the The rentleman might as well tell me that his legs | will do it again. tion. The gentleman might as well tell me that his legs will do it again.

Will not perform their duty, if mine will not move at the same time, that he cannot walk if I sit still, as to tell. The east, it is said, is most in favor of it, and the north-has the power to spend the money after you have paid. o do with his compromise.

tion be resorted to. That is a concession that it will not ome a believer in mesmerism-I must believe that sing of dividing the representation into moieties and a

riains that a controverted right shall be the subject of clared controversy, is a compromise. This system o is the miserable Abby Folsom who has been introduced discussion by this gentleman from Henrico. Sir, of think it was altogether fair in him to lug Abby debate, and abuse her, as she is a leading discihe na ural rights party-a great advocate of the that numbers have a natural right to rule, not mens merely, but their property also, and therewe a right, when too lazy to work for it, to vote ives a farm, a bed, in short everything which is vantuar, out of some other person's farm, house, or Abby was but asserting her natural right and the chose to lay in the street in Boston, the earth at her couch and the heavens for curtains, and if she the John Barlevcorn the partner of these a fint was still the exercise of a natural right, though been the display of a very bad taste. The affer was but an instance of the exercise of natushier and the great argument that gentlemen use the natural right of every man to do what he a hot merely with himself, but with every body and every thing else, while Abby only asserted the

ther own body. rought in matrimony as illustrative of a lam sure I do but justice to the gallantste of the gentleman from Henrico when should find, as, if he should desire it, I blooming bright and beautiful lady, as accomplished in intellect as in person, one willing to taith with his, I do not think he would say been compromitted or had compromised anything. I am sure he would not contest a great gainer. I do not understand therefore that the view of the subject he presents is the correct that the view of the subject he presents is the correct to the power of the west, rather than to reward her for eration some of the views upon which I think the mixed the act by paying their money to build her up; and more to basis proposition rest, at least those which occurred to my mind in support of it. And I have endeavered to ment over us that will not last for a day, and be corrupt ment of the said inhabitants, and one delegate for every ment of the said inhabitants.

one word more on that subject, except that I do not be a vision of the reason of the r sented, just exactly what I think, and decause I think it treasily, and take out of it \$27,000 for the ordinal perhaps well that both sides should understand what the penses of government. They can give nothing to interperhaps well that both sides should understand what the penses of government. They can give nothing to interpense of the country to be presented. I desire a government founded and established for Virginia upon a basis which in the expressive again; such a government as we may see lished for Virginia upon a basis which in the expressive again; such a government as in times past and at no Now, sir, I propose to examine that question, and to supply their wants. That country must bear the great show that the statement is erroneous. The meaning of the assertion is that she is dependent on the west for the internal improvements which are to bring western trade to her, and then the first inquiry is, how has she approached the west as nearly as she is now? Not by western woney, no, but by eastern money, and by her own, expended more lavishly in proportion to means than that of any other community. She is not dependent then upon the west for the improvements. She can only be dependent of the brade which is to come upon the improvements. She can only be dependent of the brade which is to come upon the improvements. She can only be dependent of the propose to be examine that question, and to supply their wants. That country must bear the great language of my friend from Loudoun, (Mr. Janney) has distant day, has been the result of unrestrained and isometance of unrestrained and isometance of the great language of my friend from Loudoun, (Mr. Janney) has distant day, has been the result of unrestrained and expansive principle and power that applies itself like a well made garmment to every part of the Valley, and especially the lower or northern part of the Valley, and especially the lower or northern part of the Valley, and especially the lower or northern part of the Valley, and especially the lower or northern part of the Valley, and especially the lower or northern part of the Valley, and especially the lower or northern part of the Valley, and especially the lower or northern part of the Valley, and especially the lower or northern part of the Valley, and especially the lower or northern part of the Valley, and especially the lower or northern part of the Valley, and especially the lower or northern part of the Valley, and especially the lower or northern part of the Valley, and especially the lower or northern part of the Valley, and especially the lower or northern part of the Valley, and especiall Now, sir, I propose to examine that question, and to supply their wants. That country must bear the great language of my friend from Loudoun, (Mr. Jassey) has distant day, has been the result of unrestrained and limake the improvements. She can only be dependent complain of the abuse of the taxing and appropriating for the trade which is to come upon the improvements. She can only be dependent complain of the abuse of the taxing and appropriating for the trade which is to come upon the improvements. Power by the east although she submits to and performs and when they shall preponderate in the western part liberty, in their names, in the names of their children than they shall preponderate in the western part liberty, in their names, in the names of their children

You would not impair her power to subscribe to and to build her works up to the dividing line between the old and the new State, and the works now nearly completed on the eastern side of the line would be completive of the bloated aristocracy and wealth of the east. ted. And then if the west wants internal improvements and abused us because we were rich and stingy, and she will make them, and if it is for her interest to come then in less than five minutes he forgot that argument, this way, she will do so, and build up her works to the under the influence of the passion in which he seemed to point of contact on the western side to connect with be in his hot pursuit of the east, in scorn and contempt to connect with ours precisely as New York and and exhausted and grown up in sedge; again forgetting Massachusetts and Pennsylvania and other States have that all the screws that ever were applied to sedge in

ina, in New York and Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

I perceive none, and the only difference between that Wythe, (Mr. Floyr), but I understand he yet mare disconting a proposition B, being a prospecified and our present condition will be that we will tructly arowed these feelings and the determination pay for our works and they will pay for theirs, and in merely to use us in the declaration that all the properest will control and regulate the direction and use of erty of the east was not to be valued against the life of them. And if they choose to come our way, why then a single white child in the west. In other words, that we will just have that much advantage, that we will only the whole east might be ruined properly to save the life pay for our share of the road while they will pay for of one child in the west. And yet we are asked under

that it should do so. On this point, my colleague (Mr. Stanard) has ex-pressed the views I entertain so fully and clearly and so that can be found in the east or west for the benefit of nuch better than I could hope to do, that I will add the west, and that we, their representatives, should do othing on that point, except to say what must be ob- it for them. Give us an emperor, Mr. Chairman, chovious to every one, that if you give the power to the sen by the people, and we may stand a chance of getting theirs, west to control you and carry the trade to Baitimore, the best man. Give us a ruler chosen by the people, As I you place her exactly where she would be if a separate and we may get the best. But with a government equal-State, and she will follow her interest. I commend his ly divided, to be controlled as some man shall desert remarks on this subject more especially to the gentleirom one side to the other, and you reverse it and place

I had not the good fortune to hear his colleague to whom of one man, to government whose power is possessed or he refers. Mr. Sinnan, I presume, and I wish I could to be controlled by one man, in the name of liberty and have heard him, for I have no doubt I should be enlight-justice, let them have a voice in the chosing of that ened, if by any body, by him, to state the positions his man, with knowledge of the act they perform; let my colleage then assumed. I am seeking for light.

door to him with great pleasure.

[Mr. Stanard made no move to obtain the floor, and day when we shall be brought to this state of things.

Mr. L. proceeded.] the interest of the west to go down the Valley to trade will of one man, but if that is to be, I repeat, let him be a to Baltimore, it will do so; and if they have the power man chosen by the peoplef or the purpose; elevated to of taxation and appropriation in their own hands, they power by the popular voice because of his virtues, not will make the improvements to go down the valley insteading into it by force of his vices. Neither do I desire stead of coming to the east. And I have the authority ever to witness a division of the State, but I wish gentleof my friend who sits not far from me. (Mr. Anderson, men to understand that this threat of division is a twothat his people rely much more upon the east for inter edged weapon, and cuts both ways. The west has nothing, nal improvements than upon the west.

as he has alluded to me, to allow me to explain for a level from an enormous drain upon her, and exhibit noment. I did not say that we relied more upon the the most compact, homogeneous and cheap common as governed by great principles? And yet, they call induce us to adopt it in utter abnegation of all obtaining appropriations for the completion of the great improvements to connect with her, or seek more distant

stood upon this floor in 1845 and refused to vote to give part of the consequences of it, and the arts and manutation way to the Baltimore Company, because I factures may fall under its influence.

This city has great cause to be cautious and careful.

We saw we do not like the gided manacles which our versus and partiotism, the heads to believe that they expect it.

We saw we do not like the gided manacles which our versus and careful. preservation of Wheeling and that portion of the north-taxed as we are now, first for the State government west connected with her. I could have procured at an east for the city government. Paying now in the that time a subscription of one million of dollars through aggregate the most enormous taxes that are paid in the halting and limping—a giant enscious of his strength it the Baltimore interest if I had listened to it, for the purimprovement-so dear and so darling that I am willing and anxious to but it into the constitution that it shall Because Wheeling was a Virginia-not eastern

Virginia, but a Virginia town, and the people of Wheeling said, "this will be ruin, this will be destruction to And I said, however dear this central improvement may be to me, I will not procure the success of it by west tapped by Baltimore, that very north-west portion tion and affiliation with Baltimore.

Mr. HAYS. Will the gentleman allow me to say a word to him? I understand that the gentleman from Botetour: (Mr. Anderson) spoke for the north-west. Now, sir, I take it upon myself to say that in every inas it is by the a wocates of each basis. As I think, my arm stance in which my attention has been directed to the has as much to do with the body of somebody else, as vote of the north-west, they have uniformly, and did last winter to a man, vote for the central improvement, and

me that the calculation system of taxation has anything west is in favor of it. The east and the worth-west may it where it pleases, without regard to you or your interdo with his compromise.

And it seems to me that the gentleman has virtually implored and besought western men to come together, must be denounced as luxurious, and your factories of renounced his own compromise, when he declares that and consulted and advised in every way we could for the chairs and sofas and similar articles must be broken up, he will abandon it unless the ad ralorem system of taxa- purpose of accomplishing it, but we had not the power and my word for it ten will condemn where one ap to do it. That is the fact. And the consequence wa proves. tion be justified to. That is a concession that it will not afford dequate protection against unjust taxation, without this system of taxation, and, at the same time affirms that system will afford adequate protection—that the check is like the first position and wrong in the last. But being right in the first position and wrong in the last. But being right in the first, what is the merit of his plan of dividing the representation equally between the two great sections of the State? What commends it to the sast more than the white basis, since, as I have said. continuen who propose the white basis, propose also constituting a part of the original scheme of the Teunesthem to use furniture alike; this same system of ad valorem taxation? Sir. I must see railroad togo from Lynchburg down to Norfolk on one. For the purpose of ridiculi see railroad to go from Lynchburg down to Norfolk on one For the purpose of ridiculing the mixed basis, the zenside and across to Charlottsville with a view to connect theman from Berkeley has paraded Mr. Burke's figure with Alexandria, and not to come to Richmond. There descriptive of a bad administration, and certainly not we that there is any connection between this is the Manassa Gap Railroad already in existence that improved it, in taste or style. In lieu of a tessalated will be carried, it is true, to Alexandria, and thus so pavement, " with here a bit of black stone and there a of all calorem taxation, or that the plan which far aid eastern Virginia; but yet a portion of it may be bit of white," he has given us the very agreeable and regarded as a link merely in this chain, verging again by soothing picture of a pair of penitentiary pants, with another link at another point down the valley towards one white leg and another black, one patched and the Baltimore. Now, what is the danger to eastern Virginia other not. I will not follow his example, and show or to Richmond, if you divide? Virginia proper, old Vir. with how much more propriety this simile of his might ginia will build up to her line, and if the west desires to be applied (except in its criminal reference) to the income through our border and seek the Atlantic ocean, congruous elements which compose the creed of the she will build up to her line. And thus, as I have said, white basis party, warring at every step in practice, like New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, they with the lofty principles, and high sounding generali-will make continuous lines of railroad to the Atlantic ties, and sweeping professions of love for the people.

through eastern Virginia. It is a question then to be determined by the interests object in referring to these penitentiary pants and patchof the parties, and western Virginia, or the new State, es and poverty and "a that and a that" is to suggest will co-operate with eastern Virginia as her interests that although it would not be well to put us all into penwill co-operate with eastern Virginia as her interests may prompt her. Is it wise then or expedient to give to the west a power to tax you at pleasure, and appropriate the money raised from eastern Virginia for her priate the money raised from eastern Virginia for her adjourn yet if there he are it doubt not it will when we priate the money raised from eastern Virginia for her benefit or her injury as the west may please without any power in the east to control either. Do not the most ordinary prudence, and the common principles of most ordinary prudence. self defence advise the east to retain in her own hands stop with taxing easy chairs, solas and finger rings, or self defence advise the east to retain in her own hands this power to levy taxes upon her and appropriate them after they are levied! Can there be anything unjust in the penitentiary standard of quality, as that is amply sufficient to cover and keep warm the natural man and the fastern, with any propriety, with any regard to the in-

expected to surrender this power?

As to Richmond, there can be no doubt of her inter-As to Richmond, there can be no doubt of her interest and policy; an eastern town as she is, in the heart of est and policy; an eastern town as she is, in the heart of But "sufficient unto the day is the evil therein." we est and policy; an eastern town as she is, in the deart of the east, deriving nine-tenths of her support from the east, will she alienate that east from her and drive its and at the proper time. My principle object has been trade away for the chance of getting to the west, when trade away for the chance of getting to the west, when to show that it has no connection with this arbitrary battern money. Will not she cannot get there without eastern money. Will not sir or grand compromise.

In are detailed this committee, Mr. Chairman, much the east, if she is to be taxed in appropriating thus, you that it has no connection with this arbitrary native or grand compromise.

I have detailed this committee, Mr. Chairman, much that it is a start town that the east, if she is to be taked in appropriate this committee, Mr. Chairman, much those taxes as to destroy if possible the eastern town that longer than I ought to have done. I will not detain it has deserted the east, and by deserting her surrendered much longer. I have endeavored to present to its considerable to the security of the slave.

The possible the eastern town that longer than I ought to have done. I will not detain it and the oppression of slavery also. Give at least the counties, cities and towns of the commonwealth; described the east, and by deserting her surrendered much longer. I have endeavored to present to its considerable to the slave.

The possible the eastern town that longer than I ought to have done. I will not detain it and the oppression of slavery also. Give at least the counties, cities and towns of the commonwealth; described the east, and by deserting her surrendered much longer. I have endeavored to present to its considerable to the slave.

buts it in the power of one single man at all times to control the legislation of Virginia. Now, is there a single man in this Convention who is willing to put the power of this government into the hands of one man in this Convention who is will government into the hands of one man in the power of this government into the hands of one man is government into the white basis and the compromise as it is called, which I thisk dure, be honest and safe. Do not set up this prize of the gentleman from Henrico presents where he puts the will she live while has is and the compromise as it is called, which I thisk dure, be honest and safe. Do not set up this prize of the gentleman from Henrico presents where he puts the dure, be honest and safe. Do not set up this prize of the gentleman from Henrico presents where he puts the sould have weight. If I were forced to vote between power upon a line, and call on east up this prize of the will she live while the sould have weight. If I should have weight to it those views in opposition to it the while has is and the compromise as it is called, which I thisk dure, be honest and safe. Do not set up this prize of the gentleman from Henrico presents where he puts the other will she live in the sould have weight in th

They would build up their lines of public works he represented her lands as poor, her fields as worn out done, all having the same object in view, viz: the trade the world never wring a dollar, much less millions, from of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers.

theirs. If then, when there shall be two States, the all these circumstances and in the sound of these trade will not come to us but go down the valley to Baltimore, it will be because it is the interest of the west the power of taxation and appropriation in the hands of the west unconditionally, or what is worse, put it in man from Accomac. If it is the interest of the wes, or the government in the hands of the worst man, not the the valley to go to Baltimore to trade, I repeat they will best. If I must have that kind of government—if I 50 there whether you divide the State or not.

Must surrender my people, their interests, their safety
Mr. WISE. Will the gentleman do me the favor, as their liberty, and all that is dear to them into the handolleage then assumed. I am seeking for light, people understand who he is beforehand; give them the Mr. LYONS. I was about to state it, but my colleague chance at least of selecting the best man to govern them. s present and can state it so much more clearly and instead of being ruled and controlled by the worst man better than I if he chooses to do so, that I will yield the to be found in their ranks, without their knowledge or consent. I trust, Mr. Chairman, we shall never see the

That we shall never have the liberty, safety and happi-His position, if I understood him, was this: If it is asses of our people placed within the power or under the in my opinion, to make by division, but if she can make by Mr. ANDERSON. I ask my friend from Richmond. I the east can make still more. She will at least be re-

improvements hereafter, we should have to rely markets to her injury, and if neither is to be a gainer upon the sast more than upon the west, and for this reason. The sast would be more interested in the completion of that improvement than the north-western portion cause it is to be discussed more properly at another time.

other place is that but Baltimore. I thank the gentle beginning more potent. The gentleman says the great can be found nocessary to discuss that question, gentleman in the formed nocessary to exercise great caution haras us, get up so much excitement, expend so much rail improvement is to rely upon the east, and why? because the north-west will not take it up, and why? have in their view to accomplish may be deleated. They because it is not for the interest of the north-west to should rather silence this cry of the poor and rich, for ment of power in the little interval which it is said is to filly a to be for the interest of the north-west to should rather silence this cry of the poor man to be on. take it up, and why! because it is the interest of the interest of the north-west to go to another point, and not come to pressed more heavily. It will result more injuriously to Sir, the power will not pass to the west on the mixed Richmond. And allow me to say at this point that I him than to the rich man. Sumptuary laws may be a basis: justice to the motives, and patriotism, the heads

pose of carrying through that which then was, and is in the world, she should be cautious, and especially his strength is impaired and controlled. We say we ow a darling idea with me—this great western central her laboring men, how they increase the subjects of tax- cannot trust these guarantees, because we have every ation and the power. The isle of Cuba, which would be the garden spot of the world, but for the detestable be made-but I would not do it. And why would I not sovernment of Spain that rules over it like a dark there is more oppressive and detestable than it is here or in any other place. Why? Because the crown laythe tax; the crown extorts, and the crown appropriate the money extorted. A barrel of flour costing three or your ruin, I will not vote to give Baltimore this right four dollars in the United States, cannot be eaten in Cu of way to break you down. Now, gentlemen, tell me ba for less than thirteen or fourteen dollars because of four dollars in the United States, cannot be eaten in Cuthe right of way having since been granted, the great the enormous tax upon it which is paid to the crown of Spain. If the people who pay, laid the taxes, does an of the country will not come to the central improvement and will not come to it because they are in connect. During the because they are in connect. lecide. Put the question to them—bring their intelli-gence into play, and ask them if they are willing to submit to a dominion so odious and oppressive as that which transfers to others the power to tax them, that as fast as they shall make a little, there shall be a haid to appropriate it to its own uses. Say to the mechan-Richmond if you chose to make a piece of work you must recollect that the moment it comes out of your hand, the art and skill you have bestowed upon it be-

ests. That all the beautiful productions of your labor

which constitute the abstract creed of the party. a determination to do so! Can we we represent to the in-Eastern, with any propriety, with any regard to the in-be protected is the natural man; with the social man we terest and safety of the people whom we represent, be

that sair and abiding principle that power shall be trusted to those who are to be the objects and subjects of it.

You will protect us when in so doing you protect yourselves, and you will protect yourselves. Then you cannot oppress us without oppressing yourselves, and therefore you will protect us. It is a government in which there is no distinction made her with discoverent that it will be secure—a government that shall be equal, shall be safe, and shall be secure—a government that shall be equal, shall be safe, and shall be secure—a government that he had be secure in the past, from the private in the past, from the past, from the past, from the past, from the past, and establish a government that shall be equal, shall be secure—a government that being and establish a government that shall be equal, shall be secure—a government that shall be secure—a gove ernment in which there is no distinction made be-tween man and man, and in which no one man shall ence, for this people will never submit to a power unhave the liberty to go to the polls and exercise more restrained, gild it by whatever name you may until power and authority than any other man: a government that day shall come, I will abide by the government of that day shall come, I will abide by the government of the first work of the first work will be amendable.

**Lic. SUMMERS: I understand the Chair to say, that throughout the commonwealth, regulated in its application of the first work will be upon concerning with the Committee of the first work will be upon concerning with the committee of the first work will be upon concerning with the committee of the first work will be upon concerning with the committee of the first work will be upon concerning with the committee of the first work will be upon concerning with the committee of the first done, all having the same object in view, viz: the trade of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers.

This is what we are striving for, and why should there be more difficulty in western Virginia and eastern Virginia and eastern Virginia running railroads to the great Ohio and to the At is not the power of the west upon an equal footing, and says to the western man, when you have investigations of the west upon an equal footing, and says to the western man, when you have investigation and South Caro-in the neonic of Virginia and South Caro-in the independent of the people of Virginia and South Caro-in the independent of the people of Virginia passing upon the independent of the people of Virginia passing upon the independent of the people of Virginia passing upon the independent of the people of Virginia passing upon the independent of the people of Virginia passing upon the independent of the people of Virginia passing upon the interests and opinions the power that would drive me into submission, contains application for the commonwealth, regulated in its application from time to time by new investigations of the State into from time to time by new investigations of the State into from time to time by new investigations of the State into from time to time by new investigations of the State into from time to time by new investigations of the State into from time to time by new investigations of the State into from time to time by new investigations of the State into from time to time by new investigations of the State to my judgment, and to the interests and opinions that would drive me into submission, containts application for the condition from time to time by new investigations of the State to my judgment, and to the interests and opinions that would drive me into submission, containts application for the condition from time to time by new investigations of the State to my judgment, and to the interests and opinions that would drive me into submission, containts and the condition of the condition of the condition o govern you. The rule is equal. It therefore cannot be degrading. It is universal, and it is not therefore and then I trust I shall be found where I trust there will be many good and true found along with me in the east sustained it, and voted for it in Committee of the Whole. the government is put into the hands of those who have and with the east. motive, no temptation to oppress-who have an ingrest and a temptation not to oppress, and who cannot

> the said depository of power. And here, Mr. Chairman, I beg leave to notice the inthis contest for the power, and to show how utterly indefeasible they are in taking taking that position of

pppress others without oppressing themselves. That

As I have already shown, they say, first that we are lordly, purse proud aristocrats, who oppress the west and scoll at its poverty, and they admit that they cannot bear the taxation which the east can. Then again they ay, or some at least of them, that we are poor, weak, incompetent; that our principal crop is sedge. Then again they say that in five, seven or ten years the power our eastern friends have conceded this last position to hem. Now, sir, I beg leave to say, that I dissent entirely from all these positions, except that which affirms that the east can bear, as it does bear, most taxation, and that which affirms, that the power will, upon the mixed basis, pass to the west.

Sir, it will, in my opinion, never pass to the west upon that basis, though it it does, I shall be content, perfectly content, because the basis will be right in principle, and as far as all personal qualities are concerned, I am as willing that our western friends should hold power as ourselves. The first effect of the opening of that country has been felt. The tide of immigration to that country has abated and most of the good lands have been taken up, while the immigration from the east, approved. which has contributed so much to the increase of the west, has ceased, and now a reflux tide sets into Virgin-14, while her lands are, by the use of marl and lime, and the improvements in her agriculture, appreciating very much, and the value of her slaves is greatly enhanced. The nerv fanaticism of the north is beginning to produce a beneficial effect upon her too. Her direct trade is about to be revived and the enormous charges of a coastwise trade will be saved. Her merchants will no ment shall be authorised on the part of the State, until benefit of internal improvements. This contest is itself proof too, that the power will not pass to the west would western gentlemen wage such an unrelenting war.

2. No appropriation to any new work of internal imby the west be exercised as it may. Nor shall is proved the west be exercised as it may. Nor shall is proved the west be exercised as it may. Nor shall is proved the west be exercised as it may. Nor shall is proved the west be exercised as it may. Nor shall is proved the west and the northern portion of the valley.

Mr. LYONS. That exactly proves the position in the subject to which it belongs. When the subject to which it is general and to which it belongs. When the subject to which it is general and to which it belongs. When the subject to which it is general and to which it belongs. When the subject to which it is general and to which it belongs. When the subject to which it is general and to which it belongs. When the subject to which it is general and to which it belongs when it comes up in connection with the subject to which it is general and to which it belongs. When the subject to which it is general and to which it belongs when it comes up in connection with the subject to which it is general and to which it belongs. That exactly provement, shall be authorized by the General Assembly as would western gentlemen wage such an unrelenting war when it is to be discussed more property at another time.

When it comes up in connection with the subject to which it belongs. When the subject to which it is general and to which it belongs when it is general and to which it belongs when the subject to which it is general as they threaten us, arowing as they do that they are they therefore them for their suffrages, for exercising that they would western gentlemen wage such an unrelenting war when it is one discussed to which it does now not not connection with which it is general as a short of the west, and the north-west of the west, and the north-west of the west and the north-west of the west, and the north-west of the west and t

aggregate the most enormous taxes that are paid in the halting and limping—a giant enserous of his strength it world, certainly in any free government that I know of may be, but yet more conscious of the chains by which day an example before us in some form or other to show that a guarantee is a subject of interpretation and con-struction; that a guarantee upon paper must be excloud, is now almost a prison yard, walled in: taxation pounded, and there is no certainty, no uniformity in the expositions, if there be, as some times there is, not to take up the report of the Committee of the Whole ability and integrity in the ex ounders. We have seen upon the Basis of Representation, for the purpose of the legislature at one time disposed to expound the present guaranties by destroying them. We have seen the courts at other times expounding them away almost as plainly and yet professing to explain and enforce them. | ration. We see already States arrayed against each other upon opposite interpretation of guaranties, and what appears to usto be the plainest guaranties of the constitution denied. Yes, sir, men who fill high places, in the Senate of the United States, claiming that guaranties are of no avail, of no value, because there is a higher law above them; others who wimit the principle interpret away the guaranties. We come forward therefore, in the name and in the principle and spirit of our forefathers; ves, sir, under the example and the teachings of Washington, Madison and Marshall, and in reverence to their names and virtues. that shall compete with the workmanship of the norm, and in their language, we say this is the republican principle, because it is the principle which will secure the interests of all parties, and will preserve that which is the only thing valuable under the name of liberty-Liberty regulated by law."

So far from being opposed to any maxim of the bill of rights, we rest upon it. The bill of rights says that all men have a right to the pursuit of happiness and the acquisition and possession of property. Possession: not as you hold the burning straw "Jack" that is alive in your hand now, but which in an instant may be in the hands of another, and dead to you. No, by acquisition and possession. I understand not merely the right to acquire that which is the subject of property, but the right also to retain it, and if there be a power having the right to extract it from you by an oppressive taxation, then your right to possession is nothing, because there is no power to retain, and the right to possess without the power to retain is a right without a remedy, which is no Why is the government of Spain monright at all. strous? Why were the governments of Europe in times past monstrous and insupportable? Why are they now oppressive? Because the crown, the emperor, the king, asserted the right to tax, and exercised; and even now the people are taxed oppressively to support crowns and standing armies, whereby so much of property is taken from them. The people are taxed not for their own benefit, but for the benefit of other's ex-penditure upon whom brings no return to the tax-pay-By slow but sure degrees, the very life-blood of the people is drawn from them. By the grasping hand life; with no heart or capacity for new toll; want looks the expiration of the fourth year, after such first elechim daily in the face, and points to the family which is tion, and which rotation shall be continued biennially spirit finally surrenders. He is no longer a freeman- for the election of senators the counties of but a conscious miserable slave, with no security that shall form one district, &c. not resist. Is he not a slave?

To my country and her freedom true Who swear before God's burning eye, To burst that country's chains, or die.

consistencies between the assertions and arguments of committee to rise. If it be the pleasure of the Committee of the Whole, in striking out B, for the purpose of gentlemen on the other side, as to the ultimate residence testiself to rise, whatever will be for your accommodation inserting the compromise which has been reported from power on our basis and their actual position, in will be for mine. But I will ask the sergeant-at-arms that Committee to this flower. I deemed it due to my o send to my roum and bring me a magazine of papers self, at least, to explain thus far, in voting now to conwhich is there. [Laughter.]
Mr. MARTIN. Will the g

noment. I do not wish to move that the committee rise, alluded, and which are known to all, merely wish give to the gentleman from the city of Lond cries of "question." Richmond and all my eastern friends the benefit of my devotion to the unity and integrity of Virginia. I said to the gentleman when the question was propounded to tetion, and submit the alternative propositions to the to call them, and I, for one, will not sustain the call. will pass to the west on the mixed basis, and some of people, and the people would ratify the mixed basis. I would acquiesce in it. Sir, I want to say more than I want to say that if these propositions are submitted to the people of Virginia, and they do not ratify the white basis proposition in preference to the other yya majority of twenty thousand of the free voters of State, my voice shall never again be heard in favor the

MONDAY, May 19, 1851.

ment. Prayer by the Rev. Dr. Kingsroup, of the Baptist GUARANTELS IN RELATION TO TAXATION AND APPROPRIA-

Mr. FERGUSON laid upon the table, and gave notice of his intention to submit at the proper time, the follow. ing proposition in regard to appropriations for internal improvements: 1. No subscription to any work of internal improve-

TION.

onger be made by a competent en- of it be in order, move that the vote be taken on concur cturers, and now too she is just beginning to feel the gineer, under the direction of the Board of Public Works, and the entire cost of such works, as nearly as

oon as practicable, with a due regard to the financial at ouce, condition of the Commonwealth to provide a connection oy railroad between the city of Richmond and the Ohio Lynchburg; the said railroads to be constructed upon the brought my mind to the conclusion to vote for the report

tion, but by the vote of a majority of all the members of both Houses of the General Assemby, and without the same time providing for the payment of the interest and the ultimate redemption of the principal debt when it shail become due; and upon the passage of any such law, the ayes and noes shall be entered upon the On motion of Mr. FERGUSON, the above proposi

ion was ordered to be printed for the use of the Con- who made the report for which I shall vote. ention.

THE BASIS OF REPRESENTATION. Mr. WINGFIELD. Will it be in order to now move amendment?

motion to take up that report at this time for conside-

Mr. WiNGFIELD. Then I submit that motion. The question being submitted to the Convention, the motion was agreed to.

Mr. MILLER, from the committee of the whole Convention, reported. That the committee had had under consideration the Report of the committee on the Basis of Representaion to them referred, and had directed him to report he same with the following amendments:

Strike out propositions A and B in said report, and insert the following: 1. The Legislature shall be formed of two distinct

branches, which together, shall be a complete Legisla-ture, and shall be called the General Assembly of Virginia.

2. One of these shall be called the House of Delegates, and shall consist of one hundred and fifty mem-bers, to be chosen biennially for and by the several coun-well as one of the best appointed ies, cities and towns of the Commonwealth; whereof, ighty-two Delegates shall be chosen for and by the counties, cities and towns, lying west of the Blue Ridge of Mountains, and sixty-eight for and by the counties, cities and towns lying east of the Blue Ridge, and said dolegates shall be distributed and apportioned as follows, to which may emanate from the south; and he will also

3. The other House of the General Assembly shall be called the Senate, and shall consist of fifty members, to be elected for four years; of whom, thirty shall be chosen for and by the counties, cities and towns lying BILL-HEADS, NEGOTIABLE NOTES. east of the Blue Ridge of Mountains, and twenty for and by the counties, cities and towns lying west there-of; and for the election of whom, the counties, cities and towns shall be divided into fifty districts, to be compoposed of contiguous territory, and as compact in form as may be. Each county, city and town of the respec-tive districts, at the time of the first election of its delegate or delegates under this Constitution, shall vote for one senator, and the sheriffs or other officers he the election for each county, city and town, within five days at farthest, after the last election in the district. shall meet at some convenient place, within the respecof the plunderer, it would be taken more suddenly and tive districts, and from the polls so taken, in their reforcibly. By the gloved hand of power, it is stolen more gradually. The only difference in the effect is, that one strips you of your property in a moment, but leaves the energy for new acquisition, the other drains the shall be assembled in consequence of such election, they veins gradually of their blood; leaving the victim ema- shall be divided by lot into two classes. The seats of ciated and exhausted, and worn down, hopeless and the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the exdespondent, incapable of performing the functions of piration of the second year, and of the second class at destined to be its prey, and the victim with a broken so that one half may be chosen every second year; and

even the necessities of life will be saved to him when he is 4. It shall be the duty of the General Assembly, in no longer able to procure them for himself. Can there be the year 1555, to re-apportion representation in the Seliberty to that man, who toiling by day and toiling by nate and House of Delegates, and in the event the Genight, recollects and reflects that all the fruits of neral Assembly shall not be able to agree as to the prinis labor may be taken and appropriated for the main- ciple of representation on which such re-apportionment tenance of others, not sprung from his loins nor bone of shall be made, or shall fail to make such re-apportion-his bone; by any means, whether it be the hand of the ment, then the Governor of the Commonwealth shall, tax-gatherer, or some other agent of a power, he can-What is he but one gilded qualified voters of the commonwealth to assemble in with the name of freeman, to dig and toil for another's their respective counties, cities and towns, and to dewith the name of freeman, to dig and for for another's their respective counties, cities and towns, and to debenent? Make him a slave at once and give the guardlare, by their votes, whether representation in the two eddirect from the manufacture, for safe at antee for life and safety. But do not tell him day by houses of the General Assembly, or in either of them, and to design above celetrated Shaving Soap, important the first and safety. But do not tell him day by houses of the General Assembly, or in either of them, and to design and to de him feel that he is a slave, who holds the very means of subsistence by the forbearance of his master. Do number of white inhabitants contained and the amount not afflict him with all the responsibilities of freedom, of all taxes raised by the Legislat are paid in the several

tion thereof. It shall also be the duty of the Governor to communicate the same to the first General Assembly which shall convene after the taking of the said vote. and the sold General Assembly thereupon, as the regu-tar session thereof which shall be held next after the taking of said vote, shall apportion representation in each house of the General Assembly, according to the sinciple of representation therein, for which a majority the qualified voters shall have declared their prefer ence, by the vote aforesaid; and thenceforth it shall be the duty of the General Assembly, in every tenth year thereafter, to re-apportion and distribute the number of senators and delegates throughout the commonwealth. according to the same principle of representation.

rocceedings of the Committee will come up for consideration, will be first on concurring with the resolution of the Committee of the Whole, in amending the proosition, by striking out schedule I and then on striking it schedule A, and inserting what was adopted in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. WINGFIELD. Then, as I understand it, it is not

now in order to propose amendments to the report of the Committee of the Whole. The PRESIDENT. The first question will be, upor concurring with the Committee in striking out B. and the next question will be, on concurring with the Committee of the Whole, in the amendment to strike out A and insert what the Committee inserted, and in that

It has been voted down in the Committee of the Whole, by a majority of nine votes, and a scheme of compromise has since been agreed upon, which has been reported to this Hones by the Committee of the Whole, regard myself as in good faith bound to concur, in this Mr. WISE. I shall not ask the indulgence of this stage of our proceedings, with the vote of the Commitaughter.] cur with the action of the Committee of the Whole. I Will the gentleman give way for one give that vote under the circumstances to which I have

Loud cries of "question." Mr. STANARD asked for the year and nave. Mr. TAYLOR. I hope that the gentleman from Richmond city, will withdraw the call for the year and nays. me, that if this Convention would agree upon a consti- It does not seem to me right, under the circumstances

Mr. STANARD. I cannot withdraw the call. The yeas and navs were ordered. Mr. SHEFFEY. I desire to say that I shall record

my vote in favor of concerring with the amendmen proposed by the Committee of the Whole, to strike out esition B, in the same spirit as that indicated by gentleman from Kanawim. In voting upon this pro position, as well as upon proposition A. I shall consider my-elf as voting to sustain the compromise proposition. I consider that it would be in bad faith, even if now by The Convention met at 9 o'clock, pursuant to adjourns any change of circumstances we could carry proposition B. to desert those gentlemen from the cast who have come forward in a spirit of patriotism and concession and by agreement in committee of the whole, have come The journal of Saturday's proceedings was read and to the conclusion to report a compromise proposition in which this entire country might concur. I shall therefore vote to concur in the recommendation of the committee of the whole to strike out A and B, with the naderstanding that thereby I am voting to sustain the com promise proposition reported by the commutee of the

Mr. CAPERTON. I have no doubt that there is a decided majority of this body in favor of concurring in the report of the committee, both as respects proposition B and proposition A, and with a view to save time, I will with the committee in striking out both A and R. Mr. WISE. You cannot move that. The PRESIDENT. The motion is not in order.

Mr. CAPERTON. Is it not in order to take the rotupon both together? The PRESIDENT. You cannot take two independent propositions at once except by unanimous consent Mr. CAPERTON. I suppose that the House can re-

dive to take the vote in reference to both prop-The PRESIDENT. They are two independent propositions and cannot be united in one vote.

CRIES of "question."

Mr. CAMDEN. It was with some difficulty that I

heapest and most practicable routes.

4. No appropriation on the part of the State shall even of the committee of compromise, but in a spirit of peace. 4. No appropriation on the part of the State shall ever be authorized to any new work of internal improvement, other than those mentioned in the preceding section, but he the vote of a majority of all the members lieve that much injustice is done by that report to the western portion of the State-especially that portion which I have the honor in part to represent. But notwithstanding that, I shall firmly adhere to the report and I will not vote to amend it so far as the principle involved in that report is concerned, unless required by my constituents to do so. There are certain amendments that are indispensable to carry out the intention of those

Mr. SMITH, of Greenbrier. I need scarcely state to the Convention that I am in favor of the principle embraced by proposition B. My votes will show that I the in favor of that proposition, but for the reasons assigned by my colleague (Mr. Summens) I shall vote to oncur with the committee of the whole in striking out The PRESIDENT. It will be in order to submit a proposition B and chall adhere to the proposition of the compromise committee.

Loud cries of " question!"

[Continued to Supplement No. 48]

REPUBLICAN JOB OFFICE. BOOK AND JOB PRINTING!

THE subscriber, having made an outlay of about ter thousand dellars for

Presses. Type, Steam Engine, &c., to enable him to carry out his contract as publisher of the debates and proceedings of the STATE REFORM CONVENTION.

has found it necessary to make an additional outlay of several thousand dellars for other materials, by which he is now in possession of one of the most extensive, as Book and Job Printing Establishments

south of Mason and Dixon's line. He is prepared, therefore, to undertake all kinds of printing, such as BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, NEWSPAPERS, AND PERIODICALS

have executed, with nestuess and despatch, job printing BANE CHECKS, BILLS OF LADING, CIRCULARS. CANAL MASIFISTS. BUNINESS CARDS. LARELS. STEAM-BOAT AND RAILEOAD BILLS, POSTER, AND OTHER

SHOW-BILLS. Every description of fancy printing in cold, mnowze and coloned likes will be done on moderate RO. H. GALLAHER.

N. B. I am prepared to contract for doing any amount of press-work, by the year, or otherwise, for periodicals or daily, semi-weekly, and weekly papers.

HERMOMETERS.—A supply of various sizes, from 75 cts to \$2.50 are for sale by my 14 J. W. RANDOLPH. DELANTATION CIGARS.—Those small "Plantation

E. Cigars" have arrived, with a lot of Dos Amigos, Jenny Lind Sultana, Fortuna, Caladora, Regalia and a lot of the best Principe Cigars in the city
BENNETT & BEERS, Druggists,

BicOOMS, Backets, Matte, Tube and Pells of all kinds, ust received and for sale low by
L. P. ELLIS, 150 Broad st. my 3

L. P. ELLIS, 150 Broad st.

ENGLISH SHAVING SOAP.—WINTER &

THOMPSON'S RIPOPHAZON; Or, Super Essential Shaving Soap.—This emisently useful discovery is a
combination of pure vegetable substances, and tenders the
process of Shaving designifully easy, producing a strong consistent lather, which possesses the p-cullar virtue of not drying on the face, and equally effectual in sea, hard or soft water.

A full stock of the above celebrated Shaving Soap, import-

GOLD LEAF FOR GILDERS.—10 packages Extra
Deep Gold Leaf of very superior quality for, Gilde a.
Carvers, Picture and Looking Glass Framers. For sale by
BENNETT & BEERS Druggists,
ie 28
No. 153 Esgle Square.